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SAVE SPAIN—SAVE YOURSELVES

Anarchists of the world, the fate of Spanish Anarchism lies in your hands!

Workers of all nations, you alone can save anti-fascist and anti-feudal Spain.

Free thinkers of all countries, socialists of all schools, citizens of all nations, not submitting to the dogmas in every continent, are fighting and dying—hungry and poorly armed—on the debris of Madrid, in the mountains of Asturia, in Aragon, in the Biscay region, in Catalonia, in the Levante. These anti-fascist militias are fighting and dying for you too: *Help them and you save yourselves.*

With all the Ponzio Pilates of democratic countries acting as accomplices, the tenebrous conspiracy of all international reactionary forces—contracted in Rome and undertaken in Berlin—has made of Spain a camp for international military operations. This conspiracy, besides having already endangered European and international peace, hastens to menace all that remains of class defense and democratic institutions. This conspiracy, a bestial challenge to civilization and progress, has already made the generals of Burgos—drunk with wine and blood—launch the word of order which characterizes the whole conspiracy: *Down with intelligence.*

It is all a pulling out of medieval barbarisms bursting and rising from the fetid marshes of the old world of feudalism, clericalism and imperialism. In its inundation it is gathering all the most dim-sighted ambitions, all the darkest passion, all the ignorance and criminalities—and pretends to recast humanity into the most odious economic slavery, into the most crushing political and spiritual oppression.

This furious and monstrous crusade of absolutism against the rights of the citizen, of capitalistic injustice against the rights of workers, of dogmatism against the rights of individual conscience, each day becomes more aggressive, more pressing. It is at one time extortioner, insidious, truculent. Held up by the pillars of wealth, strong in all the evident and occult adherences it receives from international capitalism, from high finance which knows only one fatherland—the money chest, from a blood-sucking industrialism, from all the ranks which thrive on robbery and fraud, from the professionals of militarism who in an absolute State want to regain the glorification of their own haughtiness, from the Church which bewails the very christian era of "believing or dying"—from all these pillars of support this mad crusade, powerfully armed, rushes forth on what remains of human civilization, on the scarce conquered independence of the people, on the incomplete redemption of plebeians.

Already it bombards from the skies; already its cannonsades from the seas; already its cars of assault advance with its legion of mercenaries and fanatics.

Today its pirate ships are domineering on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic; tomorrow its "Moors" of a different color will cross the Pyrenees.

Two men are leading this crusade—one a degenerate with the airs of an illustrious person, the other an immoral person capable of betraying his own relatives and poorly attempting to hide his pragmatism as gun-shooter under the mask of a Neronian Caesar. But behind

the exponents destined for the admiration of slaves and pretorians, they are pressing against all the forces of the past, all the detestible, the abject, the odious, the impudent that the present may have.

And seeing that a people which has dignity for itself—a proletariat economically the poorest of proletariats but idealistically the wealthiest of all—arises opportunely and desperately against imminent danger, not resigning itself to death without fighting, against this people the crusade of darkness against light, of the past against the future, of tyranny against freedom, concentrates all its arms, all its aggressions and engages all its diplomatic extortions.

Already this crusade hastens to boast of its first victory, the victory against the handful that has dared, against the redoubt that totters but never yields, deriding the fearful rulers of the strange spineless democracies, of a democracy of government which illudes itself in being able to survive by conceding, a democracy of pusillanimities who want to conceal their humiliation of renounces under the banner of the pacifism of the castrated.

It is well certain that without the indirect or, at least, the non-confessed complicity of this timid democracy, that without the hesitations of parties calling themselves revolutionary, that first possible victory would long before have been a first solemn defeat.

But it is also true that if the proletariat of the world, if the free thinkers of all countries, if all institutions, organizations and movements professing humanitarian ideals and for whom the advent of fascism spells a death sentence had not left the people of Spain to fight alone, poorly armed—the anti-fascist militias would long have thrown overboard all the vendors of the Spanish territory, all the assassins of the Spanish people. Long ago would they have shown the victims of fascism how one fights for and acquires one's freedom.

Let us shout in high voices for the shame of all of us—near to and far from the battlefield—for the shame of the powerful organization of workers of the many Internationals, for the shame of all branches of anti-fascism: **THE PEOPLE OF SPAIN WERE LEFT ALONE TO FIGHT AND DIE**; to fight and die also for us, for our ideals, our hopes, our freedom.

Do not cast in their faces a legion of volunteers, a few hundred thousand francs, a few camions filled with medicines or condensed milk. That is a minimum effort which does not suffice. Much more could have

been done, much more we are still in time to do, much more we must do before all is lost. Otherwise, the anti-fascist Spanish revolution will be defeated. The pressure of fascism is becoming more and more suffocating—even where today it is an embryo—and the danger of international war will become more imminent.

Fascism is an international weapon. We must not let it be free to concentrate its powers on Spain.

In vain can we hope to obtain from democratic governments what they cannot give and will not give of their own volition—much less to aid a revolutionary situation.

It is outside their influence that we must act. It is the impetus of the masses, the turning will of the people, the heroic actions of individuals which must raise and precipitate the avalanche, which must make all the fascist countries feel all the weight of universal revolt against their plots, their aggressions, their hesitations, their decisive and manifest intentions to again throw humanity into medieval darkness through a war of extermination.

(Leaflet distributed by Italian Anarchist Federation)

A revolution—to be the real means of bringing about true emancipation—must unfold itself freely in a thousand different ways—corresponding to the thousands of different spiritual and physical conditions of men of today—for the free initiative of each and all.

We must avoid even the slightest appearance of command. As a government we would certainly be of as little value as others. We might even be more dangerous to the cause of freedom; for, strongly convinced of being right and of doing good, we would consider all those who do not think and act as we as being counter-revolutionists and enemies of what is good.

ERRICO MALATESTA



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TOWARDS THE NAVAL BLOCKADE

"Misunderstandings"

While the end of the eighth month of the so-called civil war in Spain is approaching, the international situation is made clearer every day.

Of course, there never was anything misty about the help, in arms and men, which Italian and German fascists have been lavishly sending to General Franco and his mercenaries since the very beginning of the conflict. Nay, even before it broke out in Morocco, on July 17th. For the first Squadron of Italian army planes sent to Franco left Orbetello on July 15th, and the first contribution of German "Junkers" landed in Tetuan on July 21st, three days after the "pronunciamiento militar" had spread to continental Spain.

This prompt participation of the fascist dictatorships in General Franco's coup proves that the former were acquainted with the latter's plan and were previously engaged in helping to carry them out.

However, a misunderstanding remained. It was generally understood that Spain was troubled by a civil war, a domestic strife between political factions, with the common people siding with one or the other of the embattled minorities. A similar misunderstanding may have been raised by the question of foreign volunteers. A number of foreign volunteers is fighting in Spain on the side of the Loyalists. The fascist dictators of Germany and Italy have been insisting for months that their officers and soldiers fighting under the banners of General Franco were "volunteers" on the same status. One had to be a cynic, as are the English diplomats, or a hypocrite, as are the marxian rulers of France and Russia, to pretend to believe so preposterous an assumption and "submit" to it. The penniless and unarmed men who, of their own free will, flocked to Spain from all corners of the world to fight and die in an effort to assert the right of the Spanish people to self-determination are bona fide volunteers. On the other hand, the soldiers of the Italian and German Armies, who went to Spain not of their own choice but under order of their superiors, led by their own officers, paid by public organizations in totalitarian States, completely equipped for war by their own government, by means of war or requisitioned ships, are not volunteers—they are troops of an expeditionary force acting under the official direction of their rulers. No stretch of the imagination can reasonably place the foreign volunteers of the Loyalist army on the same plane with the Italian and German troops of the fascist army fighting in Spain.

At any rate, the fall of Malaga, on February 8th, has cleared all these "misunderstandings". Press reports from all sources agree that from 15,000 to 20,000 Italian troops recently landed on the southern coast of Spain and conquered Malaga for Franco. Italian and German warships, operating on the sea, directed the land movements of the invading army, at the same time obstructing the movements of the Loyalist navy trying to help the defense of the city.

A regiment of Italian troops was at the head of the fascist column entering Malaga.

Moreover, Dr. Norman Bethune, of Montreal, is witness to the fact that no less than 150,000 people fled from Malaga by the way of Almeria—under bombardment from the air and from the sea—at the approach of the invaders. This worthy doctor, through the Associated Press, on February 17th, has given a heart rending picture of the circumstances under which this mass exodus took place. As the normal population of the city of Malaga is well under 200,000—while the whole province by the same name has a little over half a million inhabitants—the flight of such an enormous number of people facing an invading army predominantly composed of Italian soldiers provides a true picture of the Spanish situation.

No longer is it believable, after the Malaga episode, that Spain is in the throes of a domestic strife—one section of its people fighting against the other in a domestic quarrel. Instead, the Spanish people are almost unanimously against fascism, either domestic or foreign. And General Franco, who calls himself the leader of a National movement, is but a stooge for international fascism. Spanish fascism is such a negligible entity that, left to its own resources, it could have been wiped out in a few days by the united people. What is really taking place in Spain is this: a progressive and libertarian resurrection of the Spanish people has been attacked by an international conspiracy of plutocratic, papist and fascist reactionaries, so that Spain, in fighting for its independence and for its right to life and self-determination, is really fighting foreign invasion.

"Non-Intervention"

While this fact is undisputable in the light of recent events, it further exposes European diplomacy as a party to the fascist plot to rape Spain and the doings of the so-called Non-intervention Committee sitting in London as a mockery.

If Germany and Italy are invading Spain with scores of thousands of their own troops, besides furnishing war machines and ammunition for the other mercenaries in the Insurgent army; if they are fighting against the almost unanimous people of Spain, destroying their homes, decimating their families, levelling their cities and villages, with the purpose of liquidating

their political independence and using the name of General Franco and his Junta as a smokescreen to further their imperialistic aims; if all this is true—and it cannot be reasonably denied that it is true—then the whole non-intervention fabrication to which Italy and Germany, as well as England, France and Russia, are subscribers, is sheer hypocrisy. Then the proposed international blockade of Spain is not, as pretended, a neutral provision, but a scheme resorted to in order to complete the isolation of the Spanish people, while the fascists, under protection of the blockade, are more than ever free to land all the material and human help needed in insurgent-controlled Spain.

If Germany and Italy are the invaders of Spain, then they are not neutral. If England, France and Russia cannot see that Germany and Italy are the real foes of the Spanish people and invaders of their country, then it means that they either cannot, or do not want, or dare not see things from a neutral point of view—they, too, are not neutral.

Therefore, they are unqualified to act as guardians of non-intervention in Spain.

The consideration of the way the international blockade has been inaugurated and is about to be completed brings us to the same conclusion.

The Franco-Spanish frontier—through which all volunteers to Loyalist Spain have been passing—was closed on Saturday, February 20th. The Portuguese

WE ARE COWARDS!

Every heroic exploit recorded by history and mythology fades into inconspicuous pettiness in comparison with the inconceivable exploit of the Spanish people. Alone and inadequately armed, for eight months they have carried on the most valiant and gigantic fight against the tremendous forces of a conspiracy engineered and entered into by the greatest political and economic powers of the world. The Church and the State—eternal bulwarks of privilege and exploitation—from their most democratic to their most tyrannical incarnation, are conniving, plotting and conspiring for the subjugation of the Spanish people to their age-worn structure of crime and injustice. And every weapon is deemed honorable for the attainment of this damnable aim: deceit and treachery, starvation and mass murder.

Because it is known that the Spanish people are not fighting fascism for a milder form of exploitation and tyranny—be it disguised under whatever deceiving cloak of democratic or dictatorial paternalism, every government in the world is intriguing for and participating in the assassination of that heroic people. Neutrality, non-intervention and now the blockade are nothing short of aiding and abetting the rape of an unsubjugable people. Every government of the world is to-day a party to the greatest crime ever consummated against Humanity. In the perpetration of this crime there has been and there is no neutrality. There has always been a direct or indirect help to the Fascist murderers hardly veiled by the magic art of that dishonorable cast of international bandits called diplomacy.

International diplomacy, performing the dirty work for its masters—the Church and the State—has tried every subtle means of smooth butchery in the expectation that the Spanish people would capitulate and succumb to the assaults of the modernly equipped fascist armies of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. However, in spite of occasional heavy defeats, the people of Spain are to-day more valiant than ever and uncompromisingly determined to die a glorious death in the desperate defense of life and liberty. Hence, the international blockade: another link in the long chain of bloody crimes committed by the international governmental banditry.

Against the ignominious, contemptible and murderous conspiracy of liberal, republican, democratic, socialist, sovietic and fascist governments—from the trenches of Madrid, the streets of Barcelona, the squares of Badajoz, the fires of Irun and the calvary of Malaga—gigantic and sublime rises the people of Spain: the legendary hero of modern history!

In the face of this tragic and epochal Odyssey, what are we doing, workers of the world? We, who are the makers of everything, the movers of the wheels of life, progress and civilization? We, who could—if we but dared—stop the supply of arms to the Fascists, arm and feed our Spanish brothers fighting their own and our battle; we, who could still the world in a solemn warning to our respective governments, what are we doing, workers of the world? We are heeding the demagogues of Labor who would like us to believe that the social problem revolves around our bellies and the struggle for a 5% raise and that workers' solidarity ends with a miserable financial donation.

Starving and bleeding, yet courageous and unconquerable, the people of Spain are heroes! But we who do not dare, we who do not get out in the open to effectively stop—and we could if we but dared—the assassination of our Spanish brothers, what are we, workers of the world?

Cowards, cowards!

Workers of the world, we are cowards!

WALTER BROOKS

frontier and the Spanish ports—through which have been passing all arms and expeditionary forces for the Insurgent army—were to be closed on March 6th but now seems to be postponed for another week. Why this interval if not to allow fascists to receive further help from abroad, while the anti-fascists receive none?

The activities displayed by Italian and German armies in Malaga, during the recent fight for control of that city, indicates what is expected to be the mission of the Italian and German fleets charged with guard duty along the Mediterranean Spanish coast under the blockade plan. They will actively participate in the war against the Spanish people, while the Anglo-French fleets guarding insurgent controlled seaports will close their eyes to any help received by fascists.

That the British, French and Russian governments should lower themselves to so infamous a plot is no surprise. They all fear the Spanish people, their courage and their iron will in their fight for freedom.

What surprises us is that the English and French workers should passively submit to such an outrage perpetrated by their respective governments. What astonishes us is that the Russian people should supinely abide by their rulers' intrigue and forget that they themselves, from 1917 to 1918, were, partly at least, saved from allied intervention through the solidarity of French army and naval mutineers and English and French workers' protest.

Sad as it may be, the fact is that while the Spanish people are being fought and suppressed by fascist powers aided by the complicity of all capitalist governments, they are also being betrayed by the workers of the whole world, notably by the workers of France, England and Russia.

"Mass Uprising"

Meanwhile the undaunted Spaniards furnish all proofs of their stern will to work out their own salvation.

Those who hoped that time would weaken their enthusiasm and determination are deluded. Almost eight months of war leave them more resolute than ever. Each successive acquisition by the fascists seems to have infused new vigor in the effort of the Spanish people. Madrid astonished the whole world by its capacity in resisting a siege such as no other metropolis has ever experienced. The fall of Malaga furnished a new evidence of the unlimited resourcefulness of the Spanish people.

"Malaga has fallen", wrote Herbert L. Matthews to the New York Times, on February 13th. "The Loyalists have suffered reverses in the Valencia road sector; 12,000 more Italians have been landed at Cadiz, and all in less than a week. But the game is not up yet by a long sight, and anyone who thinks so is sadly underrating the defensive power of Madrid and the ever-growing strength of the mass uprising which is almost more important than the civil war".

"The ever growing strength of the mass uprising"—there is the secret of the resistance and fortitude of the Spanish people. There is the only hope for their freedom and independence, since the international ruling politicians are conspiring against them, since the international laboring classes are unable or unwilling to thwart the sinister conspiracy.

Foreign invasion—by armies, navies and air fleet of unlimited power for destruction—is seriously menacing the future of the Spanish people. But as long as the strength of the mass uprising is safeguarded and kept growing, there remains hope for victory—against all foes, against all capitalism, against all Europe.

If only the Spanish people were careful not to let this formidable source of energy and heroism dry.

Already the internal enemy is at work. Authoritarians of all kinds, would-be dictators of many ilk, militarists, under pretext that the war needs "order" and "discipline", are trying to stiffen by all-embracing rules the life-giving arteries of this mass uprising. And, sadly enough, there are libertarians in Spain who, through their own physical aid and moral support—by taking part in the machinery of government—have been willing to give such an internal menace to the cause of the Spanish people.

Worse than a violation of principle this is a dangerous disservice to the people's cause.

For, blind is he who does not see that the mass uprising of the Spanish people became a great force against fascism only when the stiffening control of government was pulverized by revolution; that it grew into such a fanaticism of strength able to defy international coalition and military invasion as long as the lethargy of governmental authority lasted; that it can continue to grow only as long as the paralyzing oppression of government is prevented from asserting itself.

The more dangerous enemies of the Spanish people and their cause are not in the ranks of stooge-General Franco, but in those of the authoritarians within the Loyalist ranks, whose principal aim is to stiffen by decree and discipline the main springs of the mass uprising of the Spanish people.

As long as this uprising exists and is left untouched, albeit encouraged in its development—so long does victory remain possible. This will come in spite of all diplomatic conspiracies and pretenses.

THE POSITION OF THE F. A. I.

The last conference of the Federation of Regional Anarchist Groups of Catalonia made some decisions of capital importance. It fixed the Anarchist position in relation to the present situation. We will present these decisions followed by a brief comment of our own.

1. *The F. A. I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) reaffirms its principle and its action, which are against the State and Capitalism.*

All Anarchist propaganda and action are founded on the principle of anti-capitalism and anti-state. These two forms of economic and political domination imply the negation of the rights of the producer and the freedom of the individual. Capitalism finds in the State its weapon of defense. The exploitation of workers, peasants and technicians permits the accumulation of wealth and economic power in the hands of an idle minority. This accumulation constitutes the best means of subjugating the disinherited. The State—with its laws defending property rights, its repressive system and its modern forces—is the most effective bulwark of the capitalist regime.

In contrast to the Marxist position, which assigns to the State transitional functions in the process of creating a new society and contends that it—the State—will weaken of itself little by little until its complete elimination at the time when class differences will be eliminated, Anarchism proclaims the uselessness of the State and reaffirms that its presence after the revolutionary deed is tantamount to the creation of a new Power, of a new Dictatorship, the consequential re-birth of a privileged bureaucracy and the logical instauration of a party Government or, rather, of a government of the leaders of the dominant party.

A new economic organization on a socialistic basis being possible, it follows that the new economic order requires new political forms. The anti-state and anti-capitalistic position of Anarchism is warranted by historic experiences and by the certainty that life can be changed in such a way as to afford each individual the possibility of satisfying his needs in exchange for his work in a society where the means of production would be common property.

A federate organization of economic organisms—from the bottom up, from the base to the apex—will take the place of the system of the State.

Forced by circumstances of war, the F. A. I. and the C. N. T. (National Federation of Labor) had to enter the machinery of Government. What brought us to this action, which sacrifices part of our ideology, was the unavoidable and supreme necessity of defeating Fascism. However, this does not signify, on our part, the renunciation of the Anarchist ideal and tactics. Nor does it imply that, by taking posts of responsibility under the central government and the Generalidad—posts taken under pressure of war emergency—we have changed our theoretic conceptions. Not at all. We remain Anarchists as before, and we have the same opinion about the State and about dictatorial solutions, whatever the color of the latter happens to be.

Before the whole world and our affinitive Anarchist movements, before those who deliberately have distorted the interpretation of Spanish events and of our temporary participation in the government, we can affirm without exaggeration that this decision of the F. A. I. has an incalculable historic value.

2. *The F. A. I. proposes solutions of equity and solidarity through the levelling of economic means and the utilization of social riches to the best advantage of all.*

Anarchism strives to establish a new morality founded on solidarity, mutual aid and equality. To bring this attempt to an effective materialization, avoiding its remaining a death letter in any constitution or law book, it is necessary to start with the fundamental problem of satisfying the physiological, cultural and spiritual needs of the human being. Time ago, Proudhon declared that: "Without economic equality political liberty is impossible." And Peter Kropotkin, deriving from a profound study of the species one of the most valuable principles of Anarchism, gave to the world his major work, "Mutual Aid." Solidarity and mutual aid have been, and still are, natural laws which overshadow the "struggle for existence" and permit the increasing of strength and duration of the species.

In order to realize its great virtues, Communism needs a solidaristic morality and a superior mentality to extirpate those customs and prejudices created by a capitalistic society. Social wealth is the result of the common work of the past generations. In the complicated interlocking system of modern production it is impossible to determine the value of the work performed by this or that individual. In his "Conquest of Bread," Kropotkin demonstrates the impossibility of "giving to each according to his work." Riccardo Mella, writing on the "Law of Compensation," skillfully destroys the myth of the system of retribution according to the capacity of each and bares the absurdity, injustice and inhumaneness of the scale of values which gives to the stronger and the more capable that which in reality is needed by the weaker who, due to his physical constitution and for reasons wholly independent of his own will, needs more warmth, more food, more help and the solidarity of the stronger and more capable.

By levelling economic means, you will extend to all the power of acquiring, and you will abolish the deplorable

inequality which is inherent with the bourgeois system wherein he who has more money eats better. To level economic means is to establish—within present possibilities of production—a system which would give without restrictions what is abundant and would ration what is scarce, giving preference to the weak. Our revolution must accomplish this great deed. This is true Socialism. Unless all privileges are abolished, unless everyone will get enough to live on, unless social wealth will be used to the advantage of all, we cannot talk of equality, justice and Socialism.

The reality of the moment requires this affirmation, on the part of the F. A. I., to indicate the solution of the difficulties confronting the people today. Anarchism does not renounce the actualization of its egalitarian principles. One thing is the situation created by the war, and another thing is the aim towards which it is necessary to struggle, following the march of events.

3. *It is the intention of the F. A. I. that the groups devote their activities in persuading the workers of the necessity of selecting production in such a way as to increase that which is necessary and eliminate that which is useless.*

There are, at this moment, certain industries which do not fulfill a useful purpose and which, instead, result in actual waste at a time when it is vital to increase the output of such industries as would help terminate the war in our favor.

The unwarranted waste of energy and the inadequate utilization of efforts directly damage the results of our struggle. We live in time of war, and the freedom of those who live on the margin of war's exigencies cannot be total. The workers must know what is and what is not useful for the success of war and revolution.

It is necessary to eliminate useless work, giving those workers who perform it another occupation. No one should claim preference for his special trade when we work to win the war and when we aim at the triumph of the revolution. Every worker ought to be proud of being able to bring his energies where they are most needed. These problems must be discussed within the syndicates so that the revolutionary conception will take root in the brains of every worker. We have to cast aside the tools which cannot be used for urgent work, and we must work, without counting the hours, for victory.

The selection of useful production is necessary; its actualization depends on the workers' comprehension of the problem. The resolution of the Plenum, therefore, is an incitement to the Anarchist groups to propagate this issue which is vital to the people's cause.

4. *It is necessary to eliminate the parasitic bureaucracy which, at this time, has considerably increased in the factories, the shops and the municipal and State organisms.*

The State has been the eternal hotbed of a special class: Bureaucracy. At this moment the situation becomes grave and is dragging us over a course dangerous to the revolution.

On The Proposed International Congress

Groups, periodicals, newspapers and individuals in the Anarchist movement of the world have received word from our comrades in Barcelona concerning a proposed International Congress to be held there in the near future. All groups, periodicals, newspapers and individuals are asked to send their opinions and suggestions about this Congress.

MAN! is opposed to the proposed Anarchist International Congress to be held in Barcelona for the following reasons:

1. The purpose of the Congress is the organization of an Anarchist International. We are against the organization of Anarchists into a national party; we are equally against the organization of Anarchists into an international party. In principle we are totally against the formation of an Anarchist International. To us it signifies the regimentation of international Anarchist forces working under a definitely set up and binding program formulated by the majority and to which the minority would have to submit.

2. We are opposed to an International Congress in Barcelona because we feel that the time is inopportune and the place inappropriate. An International Congress of Anarchists who would discuss the theoretic and practical problems of Anarchism, on the basis of their own convictions and experiences, without assuming responsibility for the judgments and opinions of absentees, might have its importance, value and even desirability. A condition indispensable to this desirability is that such a reunion should take place in an environment of utmost freedom, where each is free to fully express his own thoughts and beliefs. We feel that at this time Barcelona does not offer this condition.

We cannot conceive of such a congress taking place where our comrades are shedding blood, where the state of emergency in Spain has brought about abnormal conditions.

If the proposed Congress will give the seal of approval of International Anarchism to the heroic and valorous deeds of our Spanish comrades, it will be going

Collectivization per management, with the creation of councils and committees, has given life to a new bureaucracy rising from the midst of the workers themselves. Not knowing the aims of the revolution, the elements at the helm of shops and factories—at the margin of the control of the syndicates—very often act like real bureaucrats with full power and seem to be the new bosses.

The increase of bureaucratic forces is also noticeable in the offices of the State and municipal organisms. This state of affairs must come to an end. It is the task of the workers and the syndicates to erect a dyke to stem this threatening current of bureaucracy. The syndicalist organization can accomplish this task.

Parasitism must disappear from the new society. It is our impellent duty to fight it in a most efficient manner.

5. *The organization of work shall be carried by industrially organized syndicates and municipal councils, avoiding the partial collectivization of factories which constitute a profound negation of the spirit of socialization.*

This is a capital point which offers a solution for the evils lamented before and places things where they properly belong. The socialization of work requires the widest participation of organized workers. Already, before July 19th, the Anarchists had formulated the "post-capitalistic" economic structure, entrusting to the syndicates the mission of organizing all industries. While it is true that partial collectivization puts in the hands of the workers shops and factories, on the other hand it does not allow the syndicates to intervene in their full capacities.

The syndicates must be organized by industries, the latter interlacing on a federative basis. The syndicates should directly organize the work and study the technical problems. The workers and their respective committees should group themselves into such a way as to constitute the basic channels of industry. This, however, does not take place where the undertaking is only partial and the workers work on their own.

The formation of syndicates by industries is necessary as a first step towards socialization. In small places the communal councils can organize production and consumption and, in this manner, the whole of economic life will be transferred to the producers. Thus, the industrial syndicates and communal councils will attend to production efficiently and in accordance with the principles of effective socialization.

6. *As a complement to the socialization of production, we propose the socialization of distribution in order to avoid speculations which would perpetuate that economic inequality which it is our aim to abolish.*

This aspect of the new economy is a logical sequence to our previous statements. Speculation shall not continue to foster hunger for the people and prevent the fulfillment of their needs. This speculation originated with the franchise enjoyed by money in the acquisition of products and by the impossibility of

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through a useless formality. They have sealed their deeds with their own blood. If the proposed congress aims to disapprove of some of the attitudes, compromises and tactics of our Spanish comrades during these eight months, it will be bringing criticisms and polemics to our comrades. This we cannot do, we must not do. We cannot do this to a people which has fearlessly faced the enemy during these last eight months, to a people which has been able to resist in spite of all obstacles. We must give them material and moral aid, or, better still, we must fight side by side with them.

3. We are fully in agreement with a manifestation of international solidarity towards our comrades in Spain. This might take the form of an international gathering, in Spain, which would express, in concrete form, our heartfelt solidarity, not only for the heroic way in which they are fighting fascism, but—more important—for their valiant struggle toward Social Revolution.

4. We would be in favor of an International Congress under normal conditions, provided that this would mean a gathering wherein each is free to express his own viewpoints and beliefs on Anarchist theories and tactics and wherein these viewpoints and opinions would not assume the form of an established program or creed of International Anarchism.

We do not want it misunderstood that we wish to discourage anyone from going there, whatever his mission might be. In Spain there is room for all. For those who have courage and strength there is room at the front; for those who have competence, sagacity and guidance there is room behind the lines; for those who have nothing to offer there is opportunity for seeing a people in a real revolution, for forming a mental picture of a people really fighting and for bringing the message of the courage and hope of our Spanish comrades to the workers of the world. Go who will but go in the ranks, in the struggle—not in the pretorium; go to aid or learn, not to condemn or absolve.

MAN!

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

Sit Or Stand?

The labor situation in this country has become somewhat perplexing. Now it is the 'sit-down strike. It has become a fad; it has found its way into every part of the country; it has expressed itself in every branch of industry—the automobile industry, the steel industry, in the mines and even in five-and-ten-cent stores.

Each sitting means that the workers leave their tools and work benches for a few hours and sometimes for many days. In the meantime, conferences take place; the union and the government come to certain agreements and the workers no longer sit.

During the last few weeks the Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis—whom we all know as the head of the Mine Workers Union—has come to the fore in the labor situation. His organization, a rival to the American Federation of Labor, is steadfastly gaining ground.

We are not attempting here to review the labor situation in this country. We are merely commenting—and passing on. But in commenting we wish to say this: Workers of the world, are you aware of the chains of oppression which are being made tighter and tighter? Neither Mr. Lewis nor Mr. Green, neither the President nor the Supreme Court will refrain from crushing you and keeping you in slavery. They are all working together, hand in hand, against you who work for them. They know that you have number and strength and could do much—if you but dared.

Will you dare or will you continue as you have been going all these years? There have always been strikes and there has always been oppression. In view of the new fad of sit-down strike, we are thinking how much better it would be to stand and show our strength, to stand firm and erect, determined once and for all that our demands will be heeded, that our lives are our own. To stand, not sit—that should be the position of the workers, but to stand as men who want to live as men.

Supreme Court

The great ruler of this land has created *furor* throughout the country during this last month. He has put his fingers on the most sacred sedate institution of the United States—the Supreme Court. He has come out with a plan of court reform that has literally rocked the nation.

We read with awe and ire the numerous reactions to this plan. The supporters of Franklin Delano Roosevelt are giving their wholehearted support to his reform plan which states that a Justice of the Supreme Court should retire at the age of seventy with the guarantee of a life pension. His refusal to retire would give the President the power to add another Justice to the bench.

Roosevelt's opponents are madly denouncing the plan, stating that this is another step toward fascism, that the President is trying to get everything "under control."

It is only natural that these attitudes should be assumed by the different factions of American politics. For the opponents it means that the Supreme Court, to some extent, would no longer be under the direct control of the financiers and monopolies—it would mean interference. For the supporters it means that everything would be fine. With a Supreme Court composed of Justices to the President's liking, there would be no interference in the interpretation of the laws. The S. C. would be a docile collaborator to the government's program of legislation reform.

The greatest argument of the opponents is that the Supreme Court is the staunch incorruptible guard of the freedom of the people.

Freedom of the people! In reality, during its almost one hundred and fifty years of existence, the Supreme Court has never protected the freedom of the people.

The Supreme Court of the United States has never dared point a finger of opposition to the Criminal Syndicalism law which is the most criminal infringement on the rights of the people. We are safe in saying that the Supreme Court has done more than keep silent about the laws interfering with the constitutional rights of the citizens of this country, about the laws against the alien. The Supreme Court has always approved of

these laws—to the point of violating the words and spirit of the constitution.

The Supreme Court has always taken pains for the rights of property and the "freedom" of property owners to rob and oppress the workers and to engulf the wealth of the country. With or without reform the Supreme Court will always work hand in hand with the other branches of the government. They are the daggers which are piercing the individuality of the people; they are the tools which are ruling the destinies of the workers. It is we, the workers, against whom this complicated game of politics is being played, who must give our real reaction to this and all matters concerning means of making us more than slaves. We must show that we will not allow such games to be played at the expense of our existence, our lives, our happiness.

"Volunteers"

The fall of Malaga, on February 8, has given real seriousness to the problem of volunteers in Spain. The taking of Malaga by the fascists was not a victory for General Francisco Franco. Malaga was taken by the "volunteers" of Mussolini and Hitler. This is confirmed by reports that some 20,000 "volunteers" were sent by Mussolini a few days previous to the fall of Malaga. Since then, the tyrants of Italy and Germany have continued sending their thousands of men, their arms and ammunitions. It is they who are fighting for the fascists of Spain.

An Associated Press dispatch, by Dr. Bethune of Montreal, gives a realistic account of the flight of the people when Malaga was taken. Women and children, hungry and ill-clad, sick and wounded, left their homes and their belongings. It was a heart rending exodus, but it was an example of the cruelty and tyranny of international diplomacy. It was an act sanctioned by the diplomats of all countries, for none of them protested against the outward and open participation of these "volunteers" in seeing these people leave their homes.

The New York Times of March 13 contains an article, written by Herbert L. Matthews, on the question of Italian "volunteers". In an interview with them he learns that: "The men said they had volunteered to go to Ethiopia and not to Spain. After three months' training they were put on troop ships and then were asked if they wanted to go to Spain to fight for fascism. They said 'yes,' but the men protested that they had had no choice, since it had been indicated that they were in the army now and that if they did not go willingly they would have to go by force."

"They and all the other Italian soldiers sailed with complete arms, munitions, clothing and even extra equipment for replacements. While they are away Rome pays the ordinary soldiers' families twenty lire daily. A lieutenant's family gets sixty lire. Here in Spain the men received five pesetas daily extra, and a lieutenant fifteen. Their pay was given them by the irregular paymasters, and they had no means of knowing who footed the bill in the end."

"It was the same way with the orders they received. As far as they knew everything was Italian. They gave an impression of being poor soldiers. None had served in Ethiopia, and they said that very few Italians now in Spain had gone through that war."

These are the "volunteers" that Franco has on his side. They are young Italian boys who oftentimes join the army because of poverty. They are young boys who are often taken away from their families to go and kill other families. They are not volunteers; they are boys who have no chance to say what they want. Their ruler says it all for them.

These are the forces against which our brothers in Spain are so gloriously fighting. These are the forces which the real volunteers—the multitude of people who have gone from all parts of the world, the believers of freedom who want to fight and die for freedom—are resisting so bravely.

If we are to expect a victory in Spain, we must have more real volunteers. There must be more who will go and fight side by side with our comrades, more who will volunteer to give material and moral aid to these staunch fighters.

On the threshold of a new awakening, on the brink of a new era in social history, in this great struggle for freedom, I think of the youth of the world. As I learn of the Italian and German boys who are killing but who really do not want to kill, I think of you, youth of the world—how much you can do, how much you must do to help. Tomorrow you will pay for the folly and madness of the rulers. I think of you, for you represent vitality, freshness and inspiration. You symbolize the effervescence of life and the hope for a tomorrow.

What are you going to do for our Spanish Comrades and for yourselves? You must act now; you must be the real volunteers.

HAVEL TOUR

Hippolyte Havel, editor of this journal, has announced a lecture tour on the Spanish situation, wherein he intends to go as far as the West coast.

All those interested in having him speak kindly write to the editorial address of MAN!

On Deportation

In contrast of the opinions of politicians concerning the sacredness of the Supreme Court of the United States, we have another proof of its continued attitude towards the freedom of the people, of its constant working together with the other branches of the government.

In February this body dismissed a writ of certiorari in the case of Vincent Ferrero, menaced with deportation to Fascist Italy. This is proof enough that the Supreme Court will do nothing in its power to see that the people have their constitutional rights respected. In sanctioning this deportation to Italy, it shows, more than that, that all the forces of the government are working hand in hand with the fascist governments of Europe. It proves that the government is strongly making use of a most degrading weapon against the workers.

More than that, this and all cases of deportation show that the masses, the liberal and labor organizations, the free thinkers have not really protested against this delirium. If they had, the government would not have dared to deport the many aliens who have been an integral part of the development of this country. It would not have dared to send away those men and women who have thought that theirs is the right to think as they choose.

Defense committees throughout the country are working efficiently against this weapon of deportation and against alien discrimination. But it is you who must really come to the aid of the aliens. It is the Americans, the liberals, the labor organizations who must see to it that the rights of freedom of thought and speech are guaranteed to all. Ferrero may be deported—and so may the many many others facing the same situation. But the blame will be placed on you and you. You have said nothing; you have done less.

And to think that certain labor organizations still call the President "Comrade" Roosevelt!

College Movements

The college students of some of the leading institutions of higher learning of this country have begun another farcical movement. This time it is the Roosevelt-for-Emperor movement. It seems to be a joke, but it has its significance.

First of all, it gives us an idea of what goes on in colleges. These institutions are supposed to represent the apex of American culture, the cream of the crop of American intelligentsia. However, these institutions are filled with sons and daughters of the wealthy who go there for leisure, for enjoyment—just to say they went to college. They are oftentimes not interested in the real problems of life—what is more, they do not care.

On the other hand, I wonder if this movement is a means of deriding American politics? If it is, it is a poor means. At its best, it is a publicity stunt which receives the attention of the press—and then vanishes. This is not the real way to protest against the political system.

Considering that colleges are overcrowded with the youth of the country, and considering that the youth of this land represents or should represent a vital force in the development of the country, these same college students should devise a real means of showing that they will not stand for the political maneuvers of the rulers. Only then can we say that youth is aware of what is going on around them. Only then can we say that they have an understanding of the tricks of the political "profession."

The Position of the F. A. I.

(Continued from page 3)

obtaining the necessities of life, a condition confronting those who do not have the necessary means. To socialize production means to put all on the same level when it comes to the capacity of obtaining products. The problem of the high sense of solidarity will be resolved by a revolution eminently social in character.

The capitalistic system has distinguished itself for the iniquitous absence of economic equality, for the power accorded to money, for the terrible poverty of those who only had their labor to offer, for the tragedy of millions of idle people, forced into inactivity by the outmoded mechanism of the bourgeois social apparatus: the order of life which we strive to instaurate will put an end to all iniquities and the poverty to which the people have been subjected for so long a time. In demanding the socialization of distribution, the aim of Anarchism is to give to each the means of life and culture adequately and timely.

TIERRA Y LIBERTAD

Ed. Note—Although dissenting on various points of this exposition, concerning the position of the F. A. I., as elaborated by our contemporary *Tierra y Libertad*, we print the above for its informative value and as an impartial contribution to the discussion of our problems in relation to the Spanish situation.

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H. Havel, Editor

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WARREN K. BILLINGS—FORGOTTEN MARTYR OF LABOR

(County Jail No. 1, San Francisco, Calif., 1936)

I ask to see and speak to Warren K. Billings. Before a cracked window pane 2x6 inches appeared the smiling face of a rather short-built man. We never met before. (I wanted to meet him long ago, but Folsom, where all "second offenders" are incarcerated, has rules that make this next to impossible. Billings' first offense was for his direct action activities during the Electrical Workers' Union strike of 1913 in San Francisco). At first, we were both uneasy as to what to talk about. This did not last very long.

Having been behind prison bars, I know too well how anxious a prisoner is to have news of the outside world. Yet, I was equally eager to learn how he, Billings, has fared in the *bastille* that has robbed him of his freedom for more than twenty years of his youthful life. He is now in his early forties.

I was anxious about the most important thing that confronts every prisoner: one's health. The work one is assigned to plays a most important part in this phase. In Folsom, he has worked in the granite quarry, shoe factory, at pick and shovel, in the laundry. Now he works as the watch and clock repairer of the prison. One would imagine a prison to be the last place where people worry about the correct time. Nevertheless, time is a matter of life and death to almost each prisoner. Thus, as a sort of official watch and clock repairer of Folsom, Billings has the opportunity of getting around to every part of the prison. This gives him a chance to see a bit of Nature. He enjoys looking at the fruit trees and vegetables that grow there. He takes an interest in all matters pertaining to diet and health.

Prisons, created and kept going by man against man, have seldom failed to prove somewhat of a "college" for its victims. To the ordinary type of prisoner, the "education" in every prison serves to aid him in the carving out of a "career" in the game of breaking the law. To one who is imprisoned for his participation in the great struggle for emancipation, prison serves indeed as a college—of a different sort. I was, therefore, interested in learning what kind of a library Folsom possesses. A very old one indeed. There are, of course, the accepted classics. But ample care is being taken to prevent well known books on free thought from making their way to the library shelves. The receiving of a book, especially to the radically minded prisoner, is one of the most treasured gifts. However, not every book sent to a prisoner always reaches its destination. Those most frequently received are publications and books sent through the regular publishers and particularly those coming outside of California.

That Billings has made very good use of whatever books the shelves of the Folsom library contain and also of other printed matter that has reached him from the outside is borne out by his keen interest in and opinion upon all the important problems that are now confronting the ruled and oppressed throughout the world.

In her pamphlet "The Amazing Frame-Up of Mooney and Billings," Marcet Haldeman-Julius relates that Billings has never been a member of the Socialist or Communist Party or of the I. W. W. She states that one reason for his not joining the Socialist Party was that at a socialist meeting in San Francisco, in 1913, he was asked whether or not he believed in direct action. His answer was yes, and they ran him out of the Socialist hall. The truth is that Billings has not been the loser by never having been a "party" member. He considers dictatorships of any sort, as well as authority of any form, as the greatest hindrance to man's unceasing struggle for a free society.

The present triumphs of dictatorships in so many parts of the world are, according to Billings, but mo-

mentary ones. They will last even less than the reign of democracies. "Man," he said to me, "will ultimately learn from experience what road to follow in order to achieve true freedom."

* * *

Prisoners deeply appreciate correspondence with friends from the outside world. This, despite the censorship on all incoming and outgoing mail. Billings deeply appreciates the fine spirit of the Libertarian Groups who have never forgotten him. He was some-



what puzzled by the long silence of Eleanor M. Fitzgerald who had corresponded with him for years.

As we were discussing the menace of fascism in this country and the use of the "alien" issue as a subterfuge for insidious work of reactionary forces, Billings suddenly burst forth in a whale of laughter accompanied by this revelation: "Do you know my ancestry?" I pleaded ignorance. "Well," answered Billings, "by re-reading any American history of the Revolution you may learn of the important part that a General by the name of Warren played in the famous battle of Bunker Hill. I am one of his descendants, born in Brooklyn, N. Y., and look where they have been keeping me for the last twenty years..."

For a moment I joined Billings in the laughter. But this could not last long. To my mind came the infamous work of the organization calling itself the "patriotic" Daughters of the American Revolution, and all similar pay-triotic red baiters.

* * *

What is uppermost in Billings' mind? As in the case of everyone whom the present system of disorder and injustice brutally casts into such degrading dungeons: *To Be Freed!* Thus, our conversation turned upon the farcical hearings that were then going on for nearly a year in one of the court rooms located in the same building as the county jail.

How can any one expect Billings to still retain the remotest hope or expectation in the usefulness of the latest supreme travesty upon justice—one of the long chain of travesties that have kept him and Mooney behind prison bars for more than twenty years? The United States Supreme Court (of former corporation lawyers), as is known, based their refusal to intercede in the case of Mooney under the pretext that all "legal resources" were not as yet utilized by Mooney in the "courts of California." Thus began a new process of red-tape proceedings. Finally, the case reached again the chief jailers of the two martyrs of labor, the Supreme Court of California. (Every one in California knows that, with the exception of one judge, the whole body is owned by the very same corporations that have concocted the entire frameup against Mooney and Billings.) It was this higher "court of justice" that found no sufficient time to rehear the case. Instead, it appointed a "referee", a friend of one of the chief crooks of the same Supreme Court.

The manner in which these hearings have been conducted by the "referee" can easily be guessed at. Nevertheless, the defense attorneys availed themselves of even this sort of an opportunity, in order to once again expose the nefarious frameup against two sincere fighters of labor whose sole crime consisted in being a thorn in the path of the crooked corporations that are robbing and ruling the State of California. Numerous witnesses were placed on the stand by the defense attorneys. Former leading officials who aided in preparing the frameup finally admitted their guilty part in it. Other officials as Fickert (the district attorney in the case) were proven as liars. In short, the defense has

brought forth enough evidence that *would* and *could* in any court with the least semblance of justice, not only bring about the immediate liberation of the two framed men, but also place behind prison bars scores of leading citizens—thieves and dishonest officials of the city of San Francisco and the State of California.

But to expect this to happen in a "legal" court one would have to be too naive. Least of all in any California court of "justice".

The full background for the conviction of Mooney and Billings, as also for their continuous imprisonment, is to be found in the voluminous "report" that one of the most notorious crooked judges of California, namely, Matt Sullivan, prepared for the late Governor Rolph in 1921. It was but a cloak behind which both the judge and Governor tried to hide the stinking carcasses of the rich bastard thieves whose bootlickers both of them thereby faithfully served. In examining the infamous "report" upon which Rolph refused an unconditional pardon for Mooney, one finds that the leading accusation against Mooney are anti-preparedness articles that appeared in *The Blast*, which Alexander Berkman was then publishing in San Francisco!

In the now historically recognized judicial murder of our Chicago comrades on November 11, 1887, the persecution openly sought to obtain conviction not upon the defendant's guilt in having thrown the bomb, but for having written articles that could have led others to throw bombs. In the case of Mooney and Billings, one learns of "judge" Sullivan, likewise (as in the Chicago case) admitting that Mooney and Billings did not throw the bomb, but are nevertheless guilty of writing articles that *neither of the two accused have written!* Mooney, contends "judge" Sullivan, was in favor of supporting *The Blast*. Billings is not even accused of that "crime," but is being kept imprisoned just the same.

What the "referee" tool of the crooked judges of the California Supreme Court will recommend can therefore easily be guessed when one bears in mind the "report" of "judge" Matt Sullivan in 1931. The fate of Mooney and Billings will then be placed in the hands of the nine former corporation lawyers, the chief executioners of the "constitution" of the United States, known otherwise at the U. S. Supreme Court.

Has Billings any hope that *justice* will at last be rendered to Mooney and to himself via the U. S. Supreme Court? He has experienced too much in his but youthful life to still retain such fantastic illusions.

I deplored with Billings the utter lack of *solidarity* for class war prisoners in this country. It is, as he too is so well aware of, the kind of solidarity that could have freed him and Mooney long ago. To our everlasting shame, it must be admitted just the same that neither Mooney nor Billings would be among the living today if their fate was to have been left to depend upon the solidarity of the workers of America. Their lives were saved by the revolutionary direct action of the workers of Petrograd, Russia, as is so well known by now.

The "labor" movement in America, that is, its officials, carry more responsibility for the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings than do the exploiting thieves and their "law and order" servant. I know that this may appear, to some, as a rather harsh statement. But I have all the necessary proofs to back their statement. These proofs are not merely contained in the records of what the officials of the labor movement have blocked, hindered and opposed in doing in behalf of bringing about the liberation of these two

(Continued on page 8)

Kronstadt Rebellion

Kronstadt fell, but it fell victorious in its idealism and moral purity, its generosity and higher humanity.

Kronstadt, heroic and generous, was dreaming of liberating Russia. Liberty and universal brotherhood were its slogans.

On March 7, 1921, the first shots were fired against Kronstadt.

Kronstadt proves once more that government, the State—whatever its form or name—is ever the mortal enemy of liberty and popular self-determination. The State has no soul, no principles. It has but one aim—to secure and hold power at any cost.

On March 18, 1921, the Bolshevik government and the Communist Party of Russia commemorated the Paris Commune while Kronstadt was overflowing with the blood of thousands of workers who had been killed by the rulers of Russia. The Government killed—then celebrated! Can anyone still question the true purpose of the Bolsheviks? Did they pursue Communist Ideals or government power?

The memory of Kronstadt should make the communists bow their heads in shame. They massacred and slaughtered!

In remembering Kronstadt, we hear the echoes of the brave sailors who, under fire of numerous batteries, surrounded by the blood of their comrades shouted: Long live the Social Revolution throughout the world.

Paris Commune

March, 1871—the Paris Commune, symbol of the strength and integrity of a population, symbol of the courage and determination of a people.

The Paris Commune—at the same time a symbol of the treachery of law and order, symbol of the everlasting aim of government and the State to suppress a people.

The Communards wanted Liberty and when the government attempted to disarm them, they drove the Ministers of Thiers from Paris, established their liberties and prepared to defend them.

A movement of the people, it bore the seal of spontaneity and beauty of an outburst for freedom and equality. But it bore the marks of governmental hypocrisy and tyranny. It bore the marks of bloodshed and death.

Today, as the world remembers the greatness that was the Paris Commune, today as France celebrates the spirit that was the everlasting light of the Paris Commune, today France should blush with shame in remembering and commemorating it. France should be ashamed to remember the Paris Commune!

Today we, the disinherited of the world, remembering the death of thousands in this glorious resplendent light that was the Paris Commune, today we shout far and wide the cry of Liberty, Fraternité, Egalité.

FREEDOM and EQUALITY VIA AMERICAN POLITICS

The month of February has meant for the people of these United States the celebration of the birth of two of the greatest men of this country, two of the forefathers who have done so much for their people, who have given this country a government which spells freedom, equality and justice. George Washington—the father of his country; Abraham Lincoln—the great emancipator.

Each year the country celebrates the birth of these two men. Each year their greatness is eulogized, and each year the rulers tell us how the principles and traditions for which they fought and which they established are today, more than ever, enjoyed by the American people. Each day, each year we are reminded of the fact that the government of America represents the zenith of Democracy, symbolizes the great struggle of the settlers of this vast country and personifies justice, equality and freedom as fought for in the great American Revolution.

Students of American history who have delved deeply into the subject have formed an opinion somewhat different from that which the rulers and the bourgeois press of this country are wont to have the people believe regarding the greatness of these men and the government which they established.

George Washington may have been the father of his country, but my mind goes back to the real settlers of this land who came here because they wanted to be free, they wanted to live as individuals. My mind scans the one hundred and sixty one years of Americanism since the Declaration of Independence was written, and I find struggles and persecutions. I see no sign of freedom, equality and justice. I see, instead, corrupt politicians who have crushed and figuratively torn up the beautiful phrases of the Declaration of Independence. I see, instead, a multitude of starving people in a vast and wealthy country. I see, instead, a handful of rulers dictating the destinies of the masses who produce but do not enjoy the wealth around them. Abraham Lincoln may have been the great emancipator of the Negroes, but at the mention of his name I cannot help but think of the Negroes of the South who are today treated as slaves. I think of the lynchings and the mob riots against the Negroes. I think of the Southern Mammy, always singing—in ignorance and poverty—and I wonder: Does she really think that Abraham Lincoln emancipated her or is she aware of the fact that she is as much a slave today as she was in 1862, a slave to the rule of the governors of this country?

America—the land of virginity. It was a land of hope to the first settlers who came to Jamestown in 1607. It was a land of beauty and promise. America—the land tolling the bell of independence—it is a land of misery, injustice and inequality. America—the land fertile with natural resources and potential wealth, yet the land whose baptismal symbol is the dollar. America—rich with educational centers, yet the land whose youth turns to sport, corruption and crime. America—the asylum for the refugees of the world, yet the land who denies the freedom of speech and press to its residents.

To clearly understand the word American we must also understand the term "Corrupt Americanism—Corrupt Politicians."

The history of American capitalism is very instructive on this subject. Yes, it is true that the Revolution—the fight for independence—was brought about by the spirit of freedom which inspired the high-sounding proclamation of 1776. But we cannot be deep students of history and still believe that that spirit was the basis of the American republic. The spirit of '76 was never deeply trusted by the rich patriots of the colonies, and it received firm suppression after political independence from England had been obtained.

The republic was built, not upon the ideals and spirit of freedom and independence, but upon the sanctity of private property by the makers of the Constitution of 1787. They were not libertarian idealists but practical and calculating property owners guided by sheer mercantile interests and the desire to rule as they saw fit—in such a way as to completely keep in submission the people on whom the acquisition of their wealth totally depended.

The Constitution that these business men—these patriots—gave the republic did not even mention the Declaration of Independence. I suppose they deemed that too radical—too dangerous. Not even were the civil liberties of the American people mentioned—the freedom of thought, press and assembly. This phalanx of manufacturers and bankers were too busy organizing the government in such a way as to insure them everlasting power and prestige. Their problem was whether the federal government should have infinite power or whether more power should be given to the states. They did not even think of the liberty of the population they represented!

Quite important is the fact that all succeeding generations of American Capitalism have carried on this American thought of freedom. In fact, it is part of the pledge of government officials to insure for their subjects life, liberty and happiness as handed down—not

by the settlers and real thinkers of this country—but by the framers of the Constitution, the makers of the government.

This is a proof which the American government is using against itself at a time when the password of this so-called Americanism has become "we must act now," at a time when all possible efforts are being made to give the federal government more power than it has ever had, at a time when we can say that this government is an embryonic dictatorship.

This country, founded by people who rebelled against the distinctions and persecutions of European countries; this country, founded by people who brought with them their simple mode of life with the hope of living freely and independently, has always had for its aim the maintenance of class distinction through wealth and the creation of a multitude of subdued subjects ready to catch whatever is thrown to them to make them quiet happy prey. The president of these United States may talk all he wants by the fireside, he may recall as oratorically as he can the struggle of the real settlers. The fact remains that the American government aims to keep the people as subdued as possible through the medium of laws and more laws, through the medium of iron rule and authority.

If we are to understand that the government of this country represents a betrayal of the principles on which this country was founded, we must realize that the whole American political system is a grinding machine of personal freedom—not because it has been made so at the hands of corrupt politicians but because the whole doctrine of government requires it to be so.

There is no limit, no barrier in substance or space to the power of the government to regulate, prevent or

punish the individual for his actions. From the moment we come into being until our last breath of life we are under continual rule. Nowhere and at no time is there any chance for one to think and act as he chooses. As an infant, as a school child, as an adolescent, as an adult, one succumbs to the regulations of the government regarding one's birth, one's education, one's life. There is neither individuality nor freedom in such a social organization. It is founded on the slavery of the greatest majority of the people; the minorities that escape from this total slavery are in turn bound to submit to the iron rule of the system lest it crumble—and they fall with it.

The pages of the history of America extoll the deeds of the Washingtons and Lincolns. The officials of the government praise to the skies the sacrifices of the settlers of this country. They tell us that their traditions must not be forgotten. They tell us that the principles for which the colonists fought must always be a policy of this government.

However, the pages of the real history of this country—and here I mean the history of the people—show that wherever there has been an outburst of the people there has been a consequent firm suppression. These pages show a violation of every hope that the colonists may have had concerning this haven of refuge.

Thomas Jefferson once wrote:
The spirit of the times may alter, will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may become persecutor and better men his victims. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. The shackles will be heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion.

"THE RIGHT TO WORK"

The overcast skies, spreading over the seasoned misery of millions of idle people, have been brightened by the sudden looming of new hopes. "The right to work" has found a new advocate in the President of General Motors. The destitute hordes of New York's own Bowery—existing in a brutifying alcoholic lethargy—the wretched flocks of the Chicago loops; the stooping exhausted cotton-pickers of the South; the insecure, migratory, agricultural workers of the West will certainly rejoice in the news of a new Messiah of Labor. A new Messiah supported by an enthusiastic clamoring circle of devotees raising their praises to the inviolable sacrosanct "right to work".

Here are the stern, inflexible, unyielding captains of industry who have proclaimed to the world, time and again, their ancient and vested right to do as they pleased with the wretched multitudes depending on the operation of shops and mills for their miserable existence: Their heads bent in humility under the spiritual weight of the holy ashes, meekly pounding their oversized breasts, their predatory eyes closed in compunction; here are the captains of industry changed, by a sudden metamorphosis, into a herd of fervent worshippers of "The right to work".

MEA CULPA, MEA CULPA!

From time immemorial did they capriciously deprive us of work, meet a complaint with a kick, a prayer with a bouncing, a request with an ejection, an overture with a deposal! There was no right to work then. There was only one right, the right of the boss to do as he pleased with the workers' labor. The statutory right to deprive the workers of their jobs and starve them and their families.

While millions of human beings were divested of their means of existence and thrown mercilessly into the heap of idleness and misery, there was no "right to work". No corporation, no Mr. J. Sloan ever came forward advocating such a right for the exploited masses. There was only one right then, the right of the bosses to close the mills and the shops when profits proved to be insufficient.

MEA CULPA, MEA CULPA!

With repentance and compunction the bosses embrace the new creed: "the right to work". The right to work for the workers, the right to exploit for the bosses. O, how can it be that profitable work should be stopped? Preposterous! "The right to work" must be protected, indeed. The right to work must be protected when a stoppage of work means a financial loss to the newly converted employer, when a strong fight and determination prevent the running of plants thru' an organized system of scabbery.

"The right to work"! Alas! my good gentlemen! You are just a little too late, indeed. At this time we are not interested in the "right to work". We are interested in the elimination of a parasitic society which has given to you the right to exploit and starve us, and to us the right to be free... to die of starvation. Now, we want the freedom to live our own life, to live it in comfort, to be idle, to work as and when we please, to be our own masters, to build a society where each will get according to his needs, while giving according to his abilities.

WALTER BROOKS

Since then we have been going down hill. The shackles have become heavier and heavier. But we have had outbursts and convulsions.

The Chicago strike of 1886 is a real example of such an outburst. Not only was it a symbol of the solidarity and protest of the workers, not only did it awaken in the workers a feeling of consciousness and hatred for inequalities and injustices; more than that it was a betrayal of the spirit of the colonial thinkers.

The government may boast of its adherence to the principles of the founders of this country, but we can say that these principles have been betrayed—forgotten. If there is any state which should personify the real spirit of American equality, freedom and justice, it is most certainly Massachusetts wherein is found Plymouth Rock, the symbol of the migration of a group of people who had suffered because of political and religious intolerance and persecution. If there is a state which should expound the principles of the colonists, it is Massachusetts wherein is erected the monument of our Forefathers—the monument symbolizing Education, Justice and Freedom. If there is a state which should represent the basic principles of Americanism, it is most certainly Massachusetts in which were born the very principles of Democracy. If there is a state which should represent progress and advancement, it is Massachusetts, the seat of intellectual growth and literary progress. Behind the shadows of Emerson and Whitman, of Thoreau, who has given one of the most beautiful expressions of Anarchism that America has to offer, stand erect and firm the memories of two real thinkers and believers in freedom and equality who were burned to death ten years ago. If historians have called Boston the cradle of the Revolution, we can justly call it the grave of free thought. To us the burning of Sacco and Vanzetti will be a symbol of American Capitalism and, consequently, capitalistic justice, freedom and equality.

The pages of the history of the masses of this country are resplendent with the deeds of men who have suffered and often given their lives for freedom. Their deeds have become bright spots which are an inspiration and a stimulus to all the workers. They remind us of the fact that we have nothing to hope for or expect from any government. On us alone depends the acquisition of our rights. It is up to us to shape our own destinies.

I have stated that this country seems to be an embryonic dictatorship. To substantiate this assertion is the fact that a new deportation delirium is sweeping the country. This nation, founded by political and religious refugees with the intent of giving the world a new deal in freedom of thought, is today exhibiting some of the world's most ruthless and absurd laws restrictive of freedom of expression. In deporting people from this country solely because of their beliefs, the American Government is doing something inhuman, barbarous and unconstitutional. At one time foreigners were welcomed into this country. During all these years they have helped build up the vast wealth of the land. They have dug tunnels and built bridges; they have built railroads and canals; they have worked in the fields and sweatshops. Now they are asked to leave the land

(Continued on page 8)

ART and LITERATURE

BOOK REVIEW—The Faith and Record of Anarchists

The great spread of Anarchist ideas in the last decades, and especially now in Spain, seems to afford the capitalist press a good opportunity to emit a great deal of matter on the subject. This in itself is a good sign: it proves that the idea of Anarchy is taking root in the life of the people. The Anarchists are accustomed to having their faith misrepresented; every scribbler can earn his weekly board by penning an article against the propagandists of the new gospel. The Anarchists welcome the honest critic and are glad indeed to present their theories and practice to the impartial thinker for a thorough investigation. But they resent it strongly if a writer, under the mask of impartiality, offers to the public a work on Anarchy which is tainted with dishonesty. Such a writer is far more dangerous than the ignorant penny-a-liner who fills up his columns with misinformation and false statements. To damn with faint praise is a favorite trick of some of our opponents.

To this class of opponents belongs Mr. Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, whose work "The Anarchists; their Faith and their Record," has just been republished. Nobody will accuse Mr. Vizetelly of great modesty. In the preface to his book he remarks quite diffidently that there are numerous works on the subject of the theories or doctrines of the Anarchists, but that his volume is the first to supply a history of their doings from the days of Bakunin, "who may be regarded as the founder of the sect," down to the present time. In connection with this important subject the author deems it necessary to prove to his readers, in a footnote, that he comes from old English stock and that his great-grandfather was a member of the Stationers Company and constable of the united parishes of St. Ann Blackfriars and St. Andrew by the Wardrobe. This indeed predestines him to be a competent historian of the Anarchist movement. The truth is that Mr. Vizetelly is a worn-out British war-reporter, who in former years also dabbled in literature, but who has great difficulty in finding a publisher for his sensational stuff. For many years he succeeded in living on Zola's fame. His heyday was when Zola, forced to leave France on account of the Dreyfus affair, spent a year in exile in England. An article in which he described graphically how Zola went to the London shops to buy some socks was reprinted innumerable times by the Philistine press of Europe and America. What a sensation! The great romancier had to leave France without a pair of extra socks! The great war-reporter Vizetelly would never have committed such an act of imprudence. His socks were undoubtedly always carefully packed away in his Gladstone.

The Houndsditch affair, called the battle of Sydney Street in the military annals of Great Britain, in which another famous war-reporter, Mr. Winston Churchill, made an ass of himself by calling out the military force of London against two desperados, gave Mr. Vizetelly a golden opportunity to perpetrate his book on Anarchists, "their faith and their record." To call his past history of Anarchist doings is quite as just as to call the rhymes of the former poet-laureates poems. The book is nothing more than a compilation made from old newspaper files. The interpretation of Anarchist deeds by the author is full of bias and dictated by his prejudices as a law-abiding Philistine, and as to his conclusions, they read like the prognostication from some old almanac. Whatever value the book may possess is taken from the sensational work "Le Péril Anarchiste," by Félix Dubois, published in Paris in 1894. The theoretical information is taken from Paul Eltzbacher's valuable work "Anarchism." The present book cannot compare with the work on Anarchy by Professor Zoccoli, of which Mr. Vizetelly seems to be quite ignorant. As to the real history of Anarchists, their faith and their deeds, nothing can be compared with the excellent and sympathetic account by Alvan F. Sanborn in his "Paris and the Social Revolution," published in 1905 in Boston and inscribed to the Proletariat of America. In this work the Anarchist propagandist has found an adequate interpretation.

Vizetelly stands stupid and blind before the heroism and sacrifice of the Anarchist propagandist. He heaps abuse on the heads of all the men and women who sacrificed themselves for their ideal. Ravachol is for him a monster; Henry a coldblooded coward; Caserio narrow-minded and imperfectly educated; Emile Pouget an "ex-counter-jumper" (a nice remark for a historian!); Louise Michel is "a female notoriety, an ex-schoolmistress called *La Vierge Rouge*. She had been mixed up in the Commune of 1871 and was transported to New Caledonia. It is quite certain, however, that her case was one for treatment in a hospital or asylum. Subject to hysteria, she had lost her mental balance."

This description of Louise Michel thoroughly characterizes Mr. Vizetelly. No comment is necessary. On the other hand, his tender heart nearly breaks with pity when he writes of the bitter loss of the good rulers, who suffer for their subjects and who are ever in danger from the dastardly Anarchists. One of his beloved monarchs, King Umberto of Italy, thought otherwise.

At the time of the attempt on his life in 1897 by Pietro Acciarito he remarked to his minister Ponzio Vaglia: *Sono gli incerti del mestiere!* (Those are the risks of the calling!) His calling was terminated a few years later by the revolver shots of Gaetano Bresci. Vizetelly repeats the old story, disproved long ago, of Bresci having been well-provided with money and clothes by his confederates in Paterson.

What are the sources of the author's historic information? In the account of the assassination of President Sadi Carnot by Caserio in Lyons, he narrates that several of his wife's relatives were at that time residing at Lyons. In preparing his story of the assassination, he "has utilized some notes sent to him by one of his brothers-in-law." Such are the facts of the historian Vizetelly! As to the character of Caserio, we possess a tender little study by Ada Negri, then the greatest living Italian poetess, whose school the idealistic youth attended. But what does a Vizetelly care for the opinion of a poetess?

True, he repudiates in his book some misconceptions about the Anarchists and their supposed secret organizations. But he himself is guilty of many misstatements and false conceptions. Referring to the *Mano Negra* affair in Andalusia he remarks naively: "We ourselves perpetuated a romance of the Black Hand several years ago—'The Scorpion.' We introduced into it some of the characters of the Jerez affair of 1882-1883, blending with episodes of that period others which occurred during the Federalist troubles of 1873 and the Anarchist rising of 1892, as well as others existent only in our imagination."

Imagination and secrecy play a great part in Mr. Vizetelly's writings. He gave us a "true" story of the Chevalier d'Eon—"with the aid of state and secret papers." No doubt he knows the worthlessness of secrecy. Yet his imagination leads him again to state

and to repeat that Leon Czolgosz was influenced by Emma Goldman. His imagination leads him also to state that "There is some reason to think that Prince Kropotkin did not hold quite the same opinions on some matters (violence and social revolution) as he used to do." Yet he forgets to prove his statement.

Still, as sometimes even a blind pig may find an acorn, so has Mr. Vizetelly a slight understanding of our ideas. To be sure this is the result of the fear of a loyal British bourgeois. His distinction between the Anti-militarism of the Anarchists and that of the Socialists is well taken. He says: "Nowadays Socialists as well as Anarchists denounce militarism, but we entertain no doubt that if Socialist rule should ever be established in Great Britain it will find itself constrained to establish some form of universal military service (if only by virtue of the principle that the same obligations rest on one and all) even if such service should not come before that time. Virtually all the Socialist theories embody principles of authority and compulsion. It is only the Anarchist theory which rejects both; and Anti-militarism is the first step on the road to Anarchism. That is a point to be remembered by many pious folk, and selfish folk, and utopian dreamers also. So well is it understood by the members of the Anarchist fraternity that of more recent years all of their greatest, most determined and persistent efforts have been directed against Militarism in every form. If the Socialists on their side also oppose it, that is because, such as it exists, it forms an obstacle to their ascendancy. Once in power, however, they would revive and strengthen it for their own purposes."

And the good patriot empties his heart of the following commonplaces: "Whilst we continue to love our country, whilst we are beholders to the State for good and orderly government and protection and the furtherance of all the interests of the community, it is our duty to guard our country from those who may wish it ill, and to support the State by personal service."

HIPPOLYTE HAVEL

STORIES—Take A Chance

All that day, he had been looking for a job. At each place the offer of his services had been refused in tones ranging from polite regret to curt dismissal. Business men, that winter, had grown hardened to pathetic appeals for work. Thousands of men were out of employment since the suspension of production by the local lead mines.

Dejectedly, Bill walked out of the last place into a cold gathering darkness. It had been an uncommonly bitter day, the man thought, as he drew his thin coat closer against his broad stooped shoulders. He walked down Main Street preparing to turn at the next block in the direction of his frame shanty.

In the middle of the block, a sign in front of a cheap theatre attracted his attention. "Country Store Tonight at 8:30," the sign read. "Ten Big Baskets of Groceries Given Away To Lucky Ticket Holders. Take A Chance. Admission 10c."

He fingered the lone dime still left from his last odd job. The coin had been discovered by accident, in his watch pocket, after he had left the house that morning. Had he known of its existence, he would have given it to his wife in order that the kids might have had a loaf of bread. But there it was; the printed words, "Ten Big Baskets of Groceries Given Away To Lucky Ticket Holders," were a magnet to the coin, drawing it to the box office, where Bill received a ticket of admission with an attached coupon entitling the holder to a chance.

The woman at the door, a huge, slovenly creature, detached the ticket and returned the coupon to Bill. He entered and took one of the rickety seats.

The cheap slapstick comedy and the wild west thriller made no impression upon him. He was vaguely aware of shadowy figures flitting across a sheet, of harsh, crackling sounds that accompanied the movements of the figures; occasionally he would tremble in his seat when applause or laughter came from the audience. But his eyes were riveted to the clock at the left of the screen. Would eight-thirty never come?

The second-rate feature finally came to an end with the mouse-headed heroine reposing in the arms of the pony express rider. The screen was drawn up revealing the ten baskets arranged on a long table in the center of the stage. The mountainous woman appeared, followed by a freckle-faced boy bearing a large cereal box which he placed on the table. The woman announced

that the winning numbers would be drawn from the box by the boy.

Bill looked at the number on his coupon—18,646. For the first time since childhood, he breathed a prayer, an invocation to some vague force that his luck might be good. His heart pounded as the boy drew the first number from the box, handing it to the woman.

"Number one-eight-six-four," (Bill's nerves were at high tension as the woman read) "five," she finished. For a split second, Bill was sick. "Nine more chances though," he muttered between clenched teeth. A tall blonde girl came forward and claimed the first basket. He barely noticed her as he centered his attention upon the boy whose hand was again descending into the box.

"Number one-eight-six-three-four," the woman called. Damn! This business made a fellow feel jittery. Bill took out his soiled red handkerchief and mopped the sweat from his brow. "Eight more chances," he murmured to himself desperately.

"Number one-eight-six-four," and Bill half arose from his seat—"four," the Amazon repeated. Bill slumped back, almost breaking the seat with the sudden impact of his body. Seven more chances to get grub for the wife and kids. What if none of the other numbers should be his? No, one of them must be his. He just couldn't lose.

The drawing continued, Bill always missing by one or two numbers. His face became livid purple, his eyes rheumy and his lips dry as he sat watching the boy pull out numbers with the inevitability of a judge passing sentence upon a condemned criminal. If he could only hypnotize that boy to draw out number 18,646.

The boy reached into the box for the last number. Bill leaned forward and dug his nails into the seat in front. Surely—better not hope too much—but it must be—maybe luck this time.

"Number one-eight-six-four-seven," the woman intoned. A gurgling "ah-h" escaped from Bill's lips, causing other spectators to turn in their seats and stare at him. The last winner came forward and received his basket. The Amazon and the boy left the stage. The screen was lowered for another performance.

Bill arose and stumbled from the theatre. He went down the street, half-walking, half-running, grimacing frenziedly. A mad picture flashed through his brain: his scrawny children with their noses running and their bellies empty, vainly importuning a mountainous woman and a freckle-faced boy for one basket of food. The scene grew until the woman and boy were literally surrounded with baskets of food while his children rubbed their bellies and howled in anguish.

Bill stopped up his ears against the imagined howling and increased his speed, almost knocking over a woman leaving a store with a basket of groceries. He kept on and on, without conscious design, until he had reached the river bridge. With blazing eyes, he stopped at the railing and gazed down toward the stream lit faintly by the reflection of a street lamp. He climbed on the railing. His plunge caused only a momentary ripple in the dirty water.

HAROLD PREECE

REBEL

The very gentle anarchist
Who never killed a fly—
We were unable to resist
The very gentle anarchist;
Yet not so blinded that we missed
The rapture in his eye—
The very gentle anarchist
Who never killed a fly.

GEORGE HEDLEY

MARCHING ON TOWARDS...?

On January 20, 1937, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, *saviour of the American people*, once again took office as President of these United States. As master of the white house, he is to guide his flock on the road to safety and security, but we know that like all other rulers his aim is to show the people the way to destruction and insecurity.

What Mr. Roosevelt has done during his first term in office and what he has done since January 20th, shows clearly that he wants to make of the United States a true and veritable dictatorship. All we can say is that we must give him and his gang of cut-throats credit for the way in which they have secured the sympathy and support of the American people.

When Roosevelt entered the white house, in 1933, the people of this country were literally starving. Discontent and restlessness were becoming stronger and more widely felt; the rotten structure of American Capitalism began to shake and crumble—all because people do not reason on an empty stomach and can then become violent and dangerous. But along came Mr. Roosevelt and handed his sheep a thumb, thus making them believe he was giving them an arm. Oh, yes, he *saved America*. In doing this he became very popular with the people. To help him there was a well organized scheme of propaganda. Wherever one turned one heard the name of the president lauded to the skies. The radio, the cinema, the press—all these were and have been since then used as the means for inducing the population of this country into believing that here at last was the man who was to let them have all that they had wanted all their lives, that here at last was the man who was to undo all the wrong that the ruler before him had brought upon the people. And so, in ignorance, the people, the masses, gradually took up the cry. And it was in this frame of mind that the people of the United States re-elected Mr. Roosevelt.

No sooner was he re-elected than he began showing himself in his true colors. His proposals and plans show that *he wants power*.

The first plan he gave to Congress was the Government Reorganization Plan. Regardless of the way in which it is dressed or painted, this plan brings out the aim for a one-man government. Mr. Roosevelt wants to give the full power of governing to himself with the aid of a body of six able helpers or generals whom he is to elect. Congress will become obsolete, useless and more of a figurehead than ever. Among other things, he wants to destroy the post of Controller General and substitute a *Post Audit* of all financial transactions. This will give him control over all finances which he could use to further his own ends.

However, there is one institution which stopped the passage of his plan, namely the Supreme Court of the United States. In these recent days the President has shocked the nation by proposing another plan which has hit hard this sedate important institution known as the

Supreme Court which represents the final word in the carrying out and interpretation of the law in this country. The plan of the president states that any Justice of the Supreme Court who has reached the age of 70 will have to retire. His refusal to do so would give the president the power to appoint another Justice to the bench.

It seems that President Roosevelt has direct control over all three branches of the government. He has more power than any one man in this country ever had. And a man of his calibre can do plenty with that power.

Seeing in this country a set-up smelling so strongly of Fascism, my thoughts cannot help but go out to Spain where a whole population is so gloriously fighting Fascism and Dictatorship of all kind in spite of the opposition of all governments of the world, including this very government which has always claimed to strongly support the pillar of neutrality since 1823 but which, at the same time, is doing everything to prevent the victory of the people in Spain. My heart goes out to war-torn Spain, splattered with the blood of workers, of women, children, of old and young, forming a wall of human bodies to stop the advance of this terrible demon. We have heard their cry of *Non Passeran*, and we have seen the determination with which they are carrying out their battle-cry. While we see that population struggling so desperately against the same institution that is beginning to openly show itself here, we cannot help but show our solidarity for the people of Spain in one strong real way. It is high time that we stand up and act quickly. It is high time that we do more than raise our voice of protest. It is time for you, the Youth of America, to realize that everything possible is being done in this country to suffocate every ounce of individuality that anyone might yet have. You must do this, for it is you who will have to bear the consequences of Fascism in this country. Stand up and break the chains which are being placed on your wrists. Arise and show your solidarity for the Spanish people. You can do this, for you have energy and vitality. You must do this if you want to save yourselves from the tortures and tyranny that befalls a people under dictatorship. You must aid the people of Spain materially and morally. See to it that they get the necessary arms and ammunition they so badly need. Morally you must create a spirit of good-will towards this fighting people. Go out among your friends and acquaintances and tell them that by helping the people of Spain you will be helping yourselves, for they are fighting not only for themselves but for you and you and you. By so doing you will be helping to crush the ugly demon known as Fascism. By so doing you will prepare to destroy your oppressors completely and forever.

Therefore, Youth of America, Youth of the world, let your voices resound in one loud cry when you say: "People of Spain, we are with you. Carry on."

DIDI.

Freedom and Equality Via American Politics

(Continued from page 6)

where they have spent the best years of their lives, where they have raised families and made contacts, to return to a country which offers only persecution to them. We cannot call this barbarism the expounding of the ideals of the colonists.

The American government today is doing all in its power to curb any outburst of workers. It stops every strike in the country; it prevents workers from getting the little they demand. It passes one law which pretends to be for the good of the people. It then immediately passes three more laws which infringe more than ever on the rights of workers.

The American government trades with the fascist governments of Europe. More than that, it is aiding the spread of Fascism. Its infamous maneuvers and passing of an amendment to the Neutrality Act on January 24th, forbidding the shipment of arms to the Spanish government forces, shows that this government is willing to do its share to help Fascism gain ground.

The American government has no right to even mention the principles of freedom, justice and equality. The government has no right to even recall the struggles of the colonial settlers. The American government is like all other governments. It is a wheel of politics whose spokes are kept in motion by the maneuvers and tricks of politicians and financiers. We must not expect anything from this government of Democracy, this government of Washingtons and Lincolns. The hope for us in the future rests on our shoulders. We must act now!

* * *

When I think of all the radio and movie propaganda made by the politicians of this country, when I think of all that is done against the great mass of workers by a handful of tyrants, my mind goes back to the colonists of this country. I think of the spirit in which those refugees packed their few belongings and, together with their families, endured hardships and famine in coming to this country. For them it was a haven, a promised land. To those immigrants the sight of American land meant a new life. It meant the cultivation of vast fields; it meant a simple beautiful mode of living.

Warren K. Billings

(Continued from page 5)

martyrs. Nor have I in mind the well known fact that the leading officials of the labor movement of San Francisco are actually glad that these two men, who cannot be bought as they themselves are, have been made to spend their lives behind prison bars. In 1931 I carried on a correspondence with William Green, president of the A. F. of L. He forwarded me a "record" of the things that the American Federation of Labor had done. When I questioned Mr. Green on some of these deeds, he turned deaf and dumb. I made another effort to test his sincerity—this time personally. He came to speak in 1931 at a labor symposium held in Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J. Comrade Anna Sosnoffsky and I tried to present the Mooney-Billings issue before the entire gathering. Mr. Green turned colors. He soon regained his posture and maneuvered that the issue *shall not be raised*!

Seeing the kind of labor movement we have here, who can blame Billings for having lost all hope in depending upon the solidarity of the workers of America to open the jail doors for him and Mooney? Who can blame Billings for having applied for a parole a few years ago? (The parole request was refused and now comes up automatically every year.)

* * *

It was late afternoon when Billings and I parted. I shall never forget the smiling pleading face of Billings. *I want to be freed*. It will haunt me as long as these two fighters for labor remain imprisoned. He did not say the words but I felt that that was what he was thinking all the time I was with him. I felt that this is the message he would send the workers of America:

I plead for the solidarity of the workers to get me out of here. In doing this, I am but asking an act of reciprocity—for my acts of solidarity, in the struggle of the workers, that have landed me behind prison bars.

Will this unspoken yet sensed and just message be heeded by the workers of America, or will the workers let Billings and Mooney spend the rest of their lives in jail?

MARCUS GRAHAM
(Bermuda)

The case of Mooney and Billings has again come to the fore. For twenty years the people of America—except for some infrequent meetings and demonstrations—have almost forgotten that two men, two real fighters for the struggle of all workers, are languishing in the prison of California. For twenty years, the labor movement has refused to protest openly and strongly against the living death of these two men. For twenty years politicians have been playing a game of ball with this case of actual frame-up.

The New York Times of March 4 states that "the Assembly Rules Committee of the legislature of California voted to recommend passage of a resolution granting a full pardon to Tom Mooney, who is serving a life sentence for the 1916 Preparedness Day bombing. The vote was 4 to 2, with one absent."

Does this mean that there are among the politicians those who really want to see Mooney and Billings free? Or does this mean that they are merely feigning to still remember these two men?

It is we, the workers, who should want to see these men out of prison. It is we alone who can get them out of jail. It is time that we stop believing the lies of the courts and governors. It is time that we decide once for all to get Mooney and Billings out of jail.

Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings have begun their second twenty years in prison. How long will we let them stay?—Editor's note.

MAX WEISS

On January 8th our collaborator and comrade Max Weiss died from tuberculosis at the age of 40.

Comrade Weiss was one of the first Jewish speaking comrades to rally to the support of MAN! This he did not only by his collaboration but by circulating it in the very circles where it has met its utmost ideological opposition.

In the last war he went to jail for his activities. It was there that the sickness which brought about his early death had its inception.

Comrade Weiss was active in the Jewish, Russian and English Anarchist movement in New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. It was his increasing illness which limited and cut short his collaboration and work for MAN! This I recently learned. All the years I have known him—during a great part of which we frequently corresponded—none ever did he mention his bad state of health.

Thus is added another victim to the high toll of sacrifice that the present disorder of life extracts from us in our struggle for its ultimate deserved destruction.

MARCUS GRAHAM

The editor of MAN! unites with comrade Graham in expressing deepest sympathy in the loss of our comrade Max Weiss.

I think of Thomas Jefferson as he wrote: "The tree of Liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. . . . Government is at best a necessary evil, at worst an intolerable one."

But more than all this, I would like to think of the people of this country—the workers—as standing firm and erect, ready to tear the shackles from them. I would like to see the worker get what he demands, for he is the invincible spasm of progress which is opening itself into the future. He is the ardent breath of life and joy which abhors death and pain.

He is the voice of humanity calling for life and freedom. He must stand firm, convinced that only with revolution can we attain real freedom, justice and equality. He must stand erect, unpliable as iron, towering over the tyrants that rule his destiny. He must be convinced that so long as there exist government and authority so long will his rights be denied and trod upon.

I am reminded of the words of Voltaire De Cleyre, an American, a real fighter—an anarchist:

"Where Modern Revolution has thus been carried to the heart of the whole world—then may we hope to see a resurrection of that proud spirit of our fathers which put the simple dignity of man above the gauds of wealth and class and held that to be an American was greater than to be a king. On that day there shall be neither kings nor Americans, only MEN—over the whole earth—MEN."

RAY RANDALL